

# LETTERS

REGARDING

## McKINLEY'S WAR

UPON THE

## PHILIPPINOS

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BY

REV. STEPHEN H. TAFT

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"Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him, for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked, for it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given them."

--BIBLE.

"No man is good enough to rule over another man without his consent."  
--ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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SANTA MONICA, CAL.

AUGUST 10, 1899



REV. S. H. TAFT:

The undersigned having read your articles on the war, which have been published in the Los Angeles *Herald*, and believing they truthfully present the purpose and character of the war, and set forth the disastrous results which its continuation logically involves, desire they should be given the widest possible circulation, and therefore ask their publication in convenient form for general distribution, to which work we will gladly contribute.

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(Daughter of John Brown).

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## Whither is the Ship of State Drifting ?

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To the Editor of the Los Angeles Herald: We began our war with Spain in the interests of universal freedom and to give the Cubans release from foreign domination. We are now waging a war of extermination against the Philipinos to compel them to submit to our authority, basing our right to demand their submission upon our purchase of the islands from the very nation which we expelled from Cuba. Because they will not forswear their aspirations for independence, for which they have been struggling for years, we call them rebels and insurgents and hunt them down as if they had no rights which Anglo Saxons were bound to respect.

The Jewish prophets warned the people of their day against the sin of calling good evil and and putting darkness for light. Are we not repeating that sin in a most destructive form? Many professed disciples of the Prince of Peace are so blinded and mislead as to think and speak of this war as approved of God, as a missionary agency by which Christian civilization is being promoted in those far-off islands of the sea. Failing to discriminate between the influence of American tradesmen and American missionaries, they think of commerce as a christianizing agency, forgetting that with every missionary sent to heathen lands by churches thousands of barrels of intoxicants are sent by the representatives of commerce. The flag that protects the missionary of the gospel protects also the poison drink vender, who debauches and destroys ten of the unsuspecting natives where one is converted to Christianity. The missionaries have pleaded with our government in vain for the protection of the people from this traffic of death.

If the administration did, indeed, represent just civil government by giving protection to the helpless from the oppression of the representatives of unholy greed, then it would be entitled to the commendation and support of all. But instead of this being its character, does not the money power and the rum seller as absolutely control President McKinley as did the slave power control President Buchanan forty years ago? When public attention was first called to the insubordination, sickness and death in the army caused by drunkenness, whereby more of our soldiers were destroyed than were slain by Spanish bullets, the president's disregard of petitions and prayers for the banishment of the canteen from our military camps was condoned by many good citizens on the ground that it was asking too much that he should take the responsibility of doing what congress ought to do.

Since that time congress has passed a law forbidding canteens in our camps, which law the president allows his secretary of war, by and with the approval of his attorney general, to trample under foot, while the work of moral and physical debauchery and death goes on unrestrained.

Let such as have been mislead into thinking of this war upon the Philipinos as promoting the cause of Christian civilization read the following from the Wine and Spirit News:

"As one result of American occupancy of Manila, the liquor business has reached great proportions and is now considered one of the leading, as well as one of the respectable kinds of business. Says one correspondent: 'On the Escolta, the principal business street, only a quarter of a mile long, there were but two places where intoxicating liquors were sold when we entered the city, whereas now there are eighteen. There are 300 licensed places in the city where liquors may be obtained, license costing \$3 per year. The income of the largest, the Alhambra, is stated on good authority to be \$700 per night. Already the street cars are topped with large signs detailing the exquisite qualities of certain whiskys. One quarter of the daily issue of the principal English paper published there is devoted to extolling the perfection of a brand of beer, while the largest drug store in town devotes a whole column to advertising its fine line of liquors, with no mention of its medicines.'"

Instead of extending Christian civilization to the Filipinos, we are debauching the moral sentiment, not only of America, but of the whole world by the spirit of heartless, atheistic commercialism which rules the nation. On that dreadful night when so many attempts were made to burn the city of Manila the public press reported that all places of business were closed excepting the saloons.

Every day that this war is carried on in the spirit which now governs it, and by the method now being pursued, but adds to the measure of moral debauchery and human misery which must be overcome before the world can rejoice in the triumph of a true Christian civilization.

General Sherman said "war is hell," and when, as in the present case, the war is one of subjugation, with a demand for unconditional surrender, not alone of an army, but of a whole people, its real name should be spelled with large capitals. We have become Spain's successor in the work of subjugating the Filipinos, and one of our great generals has said that we may have to destroy half of the inhabitants before our victory is complete. Our manner of doing this hellish work is just as contemptuous of human life as was Spain's, and we have destroyed more of their means of subsistence, burned more of their homes, and slain more soldiers in six months than Spain had done in as many years. General Weyler destroyed the homes of the Cubans and drove the old men, the women, and children into the towns to perish of starvation, while we have blasted the fertile plains of the Philippines with "war's desolation," and when starving women and children come to our military lines for succor we give them a ration of rice and drive them back to desolation and death by exposure and starvation.

Note the following report from Manila:

"Thousands of natives who have come to Manila in quest of food and shelter have been turned back, owing to the fear that their presence in the city may cause disease and famine. There are frequent sights on the country roads of men, women and children staggering along under loads of household effects on their back."

Who now shall do for the Filipinos what Proctor and Thurston did for the Cubans and tell the world of the desolation which a war of conquest visits upon a people struggling for freedom?

What a fearful transformation a single year has wrought in the character and spirit of the journals representing the present administration. A year ago these journals were instinct with the spirit of respect for humanity and sympathy with those struggling for freedom. Now they are in full accord with the spirit of military despotism and of contempt for those struggling for independence. Weyler himself could make no addition to the measure of their contempt for the Filipinos, as expressed in their editorials and cartoons, nor of their denunciation of, and contempt for, the scholars and statesmen of America who do not "right about face" at their command, and whom they denounce as old women and traitors.

"I repeat the inquiry, whither is the ship of state drifting?"

STEPHEN H. TAFT.



# Can We Stop the War Without Dishonoring the Flag?

The above question is being asked by thousands of American citizens at the present time. One of this class, an intelligent and professed Christian man, said to me lately: "I know our war upon the Filipinos is a blunder and a crime, but we are in it, and I do not see but we must continue it until we conquer them." My friend did not realize that his were the words of an atheist, instead of a Christian. How unlike were they to these words of Abraham Lincoln: "Let us have the faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty." Are we not forgetful of the truth so often declared by the prophets of God, and enforced by the lessons of history, that what is sown must be reaped, and "though hand join in hand the wicked shall not go unpunished." Every day this war continues adds hundreds of thousands of dollars to the people's burdens, costs many precious lives, discounts the honor of the nation, dims the glory of our flag, and loses us moral prestige among the nations of the world, before whom we solemnly promised we would not do what we are now doing. So far from the honor of the nation calling for the further prosecution of this war the restoration of its honor requires that it stop at once. All this talk of the administration about dishonoring the flag by hauling it down and "putting it under the bed" is for the purpose of deceiving the people. Who talks of pulling down the American flag and trailing it in the dust? Not the opponents of the war, certainly. These phrases are coined by the imperialists. We do not ask that the flag be taken down, but that the light and glory which shone forth from it in Cuba be restored to it in the Philippines. That the Filipinos be no longer compelled to read upon it by the lurid light of their burning homes the heart-sickening words "American imperialism," but instead may read upon its ample folds the same message of hope it bore to the Cubans, "Liberty to the downtrodden," "Independence to struggling people." Then it will cease to be what it now is, an ensign of foreign domination and become to the Filipinos an evangel of freedom. Then will the honor of Old Glory be restored and the clouds of disgrace which are settling down upon the nation will be dispelled. Who can read the following comments of leading English journals and not feel humiliated?

The St. James Gazette says: "The great American people have been hoodwinked by their generals and the administration, who have kept up a series of suppressions of the truth and suggestions of the false, of Russian ingenuity and thoroughness."

The Times says: "Dishonesty and corruption have been rampant wherever there was public money to be handled. . . . The new imperial policy of the United States is now discredited by association with a system of corruption."

The answer which the administration papers make to the facts stated by the twelve correspondents of the great American journals may well remind us of the old maxim "Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." The following is from a leading administration journal: "The antics of the kickers, the fault-finders, the critics of military affairs and the signers of round-robins suggest to the normal mind the performances of a nagging wife."

Not only are Senators Hoar and Edmonds and other opponents of imperialism rated as ignoramuses, but the correspondents at the seat of war are counted in as equally without knowledge. It is difficult of belief that any intelligent editor could pen so meaningless a sentence as the following: "These critics and fault-finders have not the slightest scrap of inside information regarding affairs in the island of Luzon, and they know no more of the local conditions surrounding our military commander in that far land than a maltese cat knows about the manufacture of liquid air."

And then, instead of recognizing the truth regarding the deception practised by the administration, and expressing regret for it, the editor holds that all our loss of moral standing is referable to those who insist that the nation keep its solemn pledge given to the world that the war should not be waged for the extension of territory, but in defense of freedom. Note in what gentle words the editor puts all the blame of our present discredited standing before the world on those who protest against the wrong done instead of upon those who have done it. He says: "The action of these creatures who nag is shameful and so closely resembles treason that one can scarcely distinguish it from the real thing. . . . Let us be done with this nagging, which disgraces the American character and the American name."

Our nation gave added glory to our flag when it pledged freedom to Cuba and repudiated Spain's claim of sovereignty over the island. But when the administration, instead of becoming a nursing mother of republics by extending the helping hand to the 10,000,000 Filipinos, as it did to the 3,000,000 of Cubans, bought Spain's repudiated sovereignty over the Filipinos, and took up her work of subjugation and wholesale murder—making the banner which meant freedom to Cuba mean subjugation to the Filipinos—it dishonored our flag and disgraced the republic. Having taken up Spain's work the administration has adopted also her method of slaughter and deception. Spain having by centuries of oppression and extortion forfeited all right of sovereignty over the Philippines could convey no rights of sovereignty to us.

Consequently our war in those islands is one of conquest. So far from the Philippines being rebels our soldiers are invaders seeking to subjugate a people struggling for freedom and independence. The American flag borne by an army seeking conquest in a foreign land, is as much out of place as it would be at the masthead of a piratical ship.

To permanently hold these islands would require a large standing army, and the moral degradation inseparable from the maintenance of an army of occupation in a foreign land is known to all students of history and need only be mentioned to be appreciated. The claim that this war upon the Filipinos is in the interest of Christianity in those islands is the greatest deception of all. Bishop Thurber, who has lately been in Manila, says that we have greatly multiplied saloons there and that drunken American soldiers are seen on the streets day and night. Passing the increase of degradation we are visiting upon the native inhabitants let us note the brutalizing influence it is exerting upon our soldier boys. I quote from the answer made by a soldier when asked by a correspondent what he was going to do with the plunder he had brought back from one of their raids. "Oh, I'll take care of the bolos, but I guess I'll drop the rest; but I tell you looting is a passion. The boys all get it after we take a town. We swipe everything and then throw everything away but the knives. Looting, though, is irresistible. It comes on you and you just go ahead and tear down everything, and what you can't carry off you smash. Why, we've got enough loot in our camp to furnish a village of 10,000 Filipinos, and when we advance we'll leave it, just as they did."

Why is the church so slow to recognize and condemn the spirit of unholy ambition, lust for power and murderous greed in which this war is being carried on? Has reverence for man, as God's child, perished in the hearts of her teachers? have they altogether forgotten the truth proclaimed by Jewish prophets that the watchmen who give not the alarm in the time of danger are responsible for the bloodshed that devastates the land? Are they deaf to the words of the Master who said of the cities of Judea that because of their forgetfulness and abuse of their great blessings they were more guilty than Sodom and Gomorah?

There is but one way by which the nation's honor and the glory of its flag can be recovered. We must stop this war of conquest and extend the helping hand to those we are now murderously destroying.

STEPHEN H. TAFT.



# THE TRAGEDY OF THE CENTURY

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**To the Editor of the Los Angeles Herald:**

The president of the civil service commission in the Philippines, having visited the principal islands of the archipelago, reports that he found the inhabitants peaceably disposed, and that the ruler of Sulu island impressed him most favorably, and that no serious trouble would obtain in that island if the people of the United States were as considerate of the rights of the people there as Spain had been. Before we captured Manila, the inhabitants of Luzon had expelled Spanish authority from every other part of the island and established a government represented by legislative, executive and judicial departments, the various offices being held by men of ability, education and high social standing. The people and the government hailed the advent of our ships in the harbor of Manila with grateful joy, and our government furnished the Philippine soldiers with needed arms that they might help to capture the city.

What answer have we made, and are we making, to the glad welcome extended to us? Their government has been driven from its capital, their fields have been devastated, their cities looted, their homes, where successive generations have been born and have lived, have been burned, and we have slain them by the thousands, often including in our slaughter helpless women and children. History contains no record of a more complete parallel in wild frenzy and heart-stocking savagery than obtains between our treatment of the Filipinos and Pizarro's treatment of the Peruvians of four hundred years ago. And the parallel holds good not only in the spirit of contempt for human rights and human life which ruled then and rules now, but also in the blind or hypocritical piety with which the murderous work is garnished. Pizarro, having but a small army, had but one chaplain, Father Valverde. We, with our thousands, instead of hundreds of soldiers have several chaplains. It will be remembered that Pizarro proclaimed his invasion of Peru to be in the interest of Christian civilization, to bring to those benighted people the blessings of the Gospel of peace.

To the religious people of the nation, the McKinley administration makes the same claim for the present war. To the manufacturers, merchants and shippers the war is defended on commercial grounds, and the administration journals are telling the farmers of the vast number of farms Uncle Sam will soon possess to distribute among his boys. Now, it remains to be seen whether McKinley will proceed to distribute the trophies of victory as piously as Pizarro did. The following account of Pizarro's manner of procedure is found in Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru:

"Pizarro prepared with all solemnity for a division of the imperial spoils. The troops were called together in the great square, and the Spanish commander, with the fear of God before his eyes," says the record, "invoked the assistance of heaven to do the work before him justly."

I invite any who may take exception to my characterization of American imperialism as embodying a spirit of injustice, ingratitude and murder rivaling that of Spain's Imperialism in the sixteenth century, to read with me from a few of the soldiers' letters which, evading the government censor's hands, have reached this country. The administration papers have been telling us all along of the hundreds and thousands that are being killed and in these letters we learn the secret of the manner of their taking off.

A private in the Utah battery writes: "With an enemy like this to fight it is not surprising that the boys should soon adopt 'no quarter' as a motto, and fill the blacks full of lead before finding out whether or not they are friends or enemies."

Corporal in California regiment: "We make everyone get into his house at 7 p. m. and tell a man but once. If he refuses, we shoot him. We killed over 300 men the first night. If they fire a shot from a house, we burn the house and every house near it and shoot the natives."

Charles Bremer, of Minneapolis, Kansas, describing the fight at Caloo-

can: "Company I had taken a few prisoners and stopped. Then occurred the hardest sight I ever saw. They had four prisoners and didn't know what to do with them. They asked Captain Bishop, and he said, 'You know the orders,' and four natives fell dead."

Fred Sweet, Utah light battery: "The scene reminds me of the shooting of jackrabbits in Utah, only the rabbits sometimes get away, but the insurgents did not."

Arthur Minkler, Kansas regiment: "It was like hunting rabbits; an insurgent would jump out of a hole in the brush and run; he would not get very far. We take no prisoners. At least the Twentieth Kansas did not."

Captain Elliott, Kansas regiment: "Talk of war being hell; this war beats the hottest estimate ever made of that locality. Caloocan was supposed to contain 17,000 inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native. The village of Maypaja had 5000 people in it. Now not one stone remains on top of another. War is worse than hell."

Leonard F. Adams, of Ozark, Washington regiment: "I don't know how many men, women and children the Tennessee boys did kill. They would not take any prisoners."

Private, Miami county, Kansas: "To shoot a man at six feet range with a rifle is a hard thing to do, but the orders were to let no insurgent live."

I have before me scores of such extracts, but the above must suffice. But I am told that General Otis denies all these representations. But does he deny them? In his pretended denial does he not so use words as to hide instead of revealing the truth? He does, indeed, deny that a general order has been issued for the shooting of prisoners, and he denies that "wanton cruelty" is resorted to in the killing of Filipino soldiers, but he admits the indiscriminate killing of them. He says: "In cases of men in arms against us, our soldiers under the rules and necessities of war proceeded to kill, wound, disperse and destroy to the best of their ability." Note the language "our soldiers under the rules and necessities of war proceeded to kill, wound, disperse and (take prisoners? No, but) destroy to the best of their ability."

It would be a useless falsehood for any intelligent person to deny the truth conveyed by the letters from which I have quoted, since the fact of the murderous character of the war on our part is made clear by the disparity between the number killed and the number taken prisoners. We have killed many more than we have taken prisoners. In civilized warfare the reverse of this is true.

Taking into account the moral standard and usages of war in the sixteenth century as compared with those of today, Pizarro's treatment of the Peruvians was honorable compared with McKinley's treatment of the Filipinos. The brightest star in Dewey's crown of glory will be that he repudiates this war of conquest. An American scholar, Rev. Clay McCauley, a professor in a university in Tokio, Japan, visited Manila in January last, and he writes to the Boston Transcript that Admiral Dewey said to him, "Rather than make a war of conquest on the Filipino people, I would take up anchor and sail out of the harbor." At last we have the secret of his failing health and his request to be relieved from a work so abhorrent to him. Dewey's guns in our war with Spain meant freedom to the Filipinos. McKinley's guns in our war with the Filipinos mean their humiliation and subjugation.

With what monstrous falsehood the administration is seeking to deceive and mislead the American people when it calls the Filipino patriots insurgents and rebels because they offer their lives in defense of their homes and native land!

If this cowardly falsehood but turned the lips of those who utter it as it blights their moral nature, it might be uttered less frequently.

Speak I not truly when I say that our war upon the Filipinos is the crowning tragedy of the century?

STEPHEN H. TAFT.

Santa Monica, Cal., July 8th, 1899.

## THE TWO WARS CONTRASTED

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To the Editor of the Los Angeles Herald:

The war with Spain was for the deliverance of 3,000,000 of people who were struggling for freedom and independence.

The war upon the Filipinos is for the subjugation of 10,000,000 of people who are also struggling for freedom and independence.

The former war was proclaimed in the name of justice against the most cruel and extortionary nation of the world.

The present war is proclaimed in the name of commerce and expansion by authority purchased from the nation from whose bloody hand we rescued Cuba. We call the Cubans patriots, and promise them aid in establishing a republic. We did call the Filipinos patriots until the administration became inoculated with the virus of imperialism and purchased Spain's robber right to rule them. Now they are called insurgents and rebels, to be hunted down and shot at their own firesides.

The first war was short and glorious in its results.

The present war, already longer than the first, is but just begun, and is dividing our nation and confusing the moral sense of the world. When it will end, no one can say.

The war against Spain was the nation's and freedom's war, proclaimed by authority of congress, which, by reason of its high and beneficent purpose, united the people in bonds of patriotic sympathy.

The war upon the Filipinos is McKinley's war, proclaimed by military authority, in carrying on which there has been established an unrestrained military despotism.

General Anderson, who commanded a brigade in the army at Manila, well says: "General Otis is the civil and military governor in the islands, and is the most absolute and arbitrary ruler on earth." And the correspondents of the great American journals in Manila say: "If we write the truth about the situation here we are accused of treason."

The people are coming to comprehend the difference between the nation's war for freedom and the McKinley war of conquest, and that every consideration of morality and sympathy with the oppressed, which moved patriotic citizens to give enthusiastic support to the first war, makes it their duty to use all honorable and legitimate means to bring the McKinley war to an end.

Evidences multiply that the conquest of the Philippines was deliberately planned by the representatives of militarism and the money power, and that a campaign of deception and falsehood was considered as a necessary part of the conspiracy. To get possession of a thousand islands and exploit them for the enrichment of the conspirators, and to give office to political and military aspirants was, indeed, a gigantic scheme.

If these islands had not been inhabited there would have been no such necessity for using deception when taking possession of them. But they contain millions of people, with towns and cities, and large agricultural and commercial interests, and one of our generals says: "Their social status and civilization is of a higher order than that of Mexico," and Admiral Dewey said, under date of June 23, 1898, in an official communication to our government: "In my opinion



these people are far superior in intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Two months later, August 29th, the admiral, in another communication, after repeating what he had said in June, added: "Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

About the same date, June 16th, our consul telegraphs the following, as is found recorded in "Senate Document No. 62, Part 1st, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session:"

"While the Spaniards cruelly and barbarously slaughter Filipinos taken in arms, and often non-combatants, women and children, the insurgent victors, following American example, spare life, protect the helpless, and nurse, feed and care for Spaniards taken prisoners and for Spanish wounded as kindly as they care for the wounded fallen from their own ranks. Oscar F. Williams United States Consul."

I have in previous articles called other witnesses, who knew of what they testified, to prove that the administration press were destroying sympathy for and creating a bitter prejudice against the Filipinos by bearing false testimony against them. I have now introduced unimpeachable witnesses to prove that President McKinley and his cabinet have known for over a year, that so far from the inhabitants of Luzon, whom we are "shooting down like jack-rabbits," being low and brutal, as they have been represented to be, they are more civilized and better qualified for self-government than are the Cubans. In the light of the facts thus shown we can well understand why General Otis forbade the correspondents to make known the truth regarding the situation in the islands, and why the president commends instead of censuring him.

The purpose for which the present war is being prosecuted is so diametrically opposed to that for which the first one was proclaimed that it has dazed and confused a great many whose hearts were so aglow with sympathy for the victims of Spanish oppression that they have refused to believe that deception was being practiced.

It is to the credit of the American people that they have been slow to believe that the administration has proved recreant to its sacred trust, and in the short space of two months, which intervened between the close of the first and the beginning of the second war, transformed itself from the guardian of freedom and free government to a military despotism, giving into the hands of its commanding general the lives and destiny of millions of people, and among them many who had aided us in the carrying on of the first war, and that this general has proceeded to lay waste the fields and cities within reach of his guns, slaying more of the people in six months than Spain had slain in years.

But all this is now a matter of history, and is wholly approved by the president. When the Spanish were desolating Cuba and murdering the people, there, as we are now doing in the Philippines, it was accounted noble in men to visit the fields of carnage and express sympathy with the suffering, and to bring home photographs of the scenes witnessed, and thus make clear the condition as it truly existed. Our public journals were at one time full of such pictures. If it was right to thus express sympathy with the Cubans, by what rule of ethics shall it be made to appear wrong to sympathize with the Filipinos? Am I told that the Cubans were rebels against Spain who had no right to thus desolate the island, while the Filipinos are rebels against us? But what right have we in the Philippines if Spain had no right to demand, at the point of the bayonet, the submission of the Cubans? How could she give us the right to demand the submission of the Filipinos on pain of death for refusal? To talk of our right to desolate those islands with fire and sword because of any authority which Spain could convey to us is to trifle with truth and equity. What a spectacle for men and angels to behold! America, who plucked the long-oppressed Cubans from the bloody hand of Spain, to be now engaged in desolating the fields and cities of Filipinos, and slaying them by the thousands. And when asked by what authority we are visiting such desolation upon a people who had never wished us aught but good, President McKinley answers: "I bought the right of Spain."

"Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Phillistines rejoice" lest the foes of righteousness triumph.

Is it so? Has the land of Washington and Jefferson, of Lincoln and John Brown become Spain's successor in the murderous work of subjugating a peo-

ple whom Spain had robbed for centuries, or are we being tormented by an awful dream, from which we may hope to wake?

Alas it is no dream, for President McKinley has not only involved our nation in a murderous war of conquest, but he is also carrying it on by those methods of deceit, falsehood and slaughter for doing which we held Spain up to the execration of the world. Now, that the truth is coming to be known by the people and the awful crime we are committing against those who hailed our soldiers as friends, begins to be comprehended and condemned, the imperialists are seeking support for the president by adjuring us to honor the flag. And the president is himself making a like appeal. When speaking at the peace jubilee in Atlanta, Ga., he asked: "Would you have your soldiers turn their backs upon our country's flag?" Just as if the flag would be discredited if we should make it mean to the Filipinos what we told the world it meant to the Cubans, freedom and independence.

When a few days later the president spoke in Boston he told his audience that the south sustained the war, claiming that their answering "No" to his misleading question committed them to its support.

On noticing this unwarranted representation of the president, a distinguished southern statesman repudiated the president's inference, and declared that the south was opposed to the war.

In their anxiety to break the ranks of the opposition the supporters of the president are appealing to the fears of the timid, whose sense of justice forbids their approving of the war. I take the following from one of their leading journals:

"Experience proves that the man who obstructs a war in which his nation is engaged, no matter whether right or wrong, occupies no enviable place in life or history. Better for him, individually, to advocate 'war, pestilence and famine,' than to act as obstructionist to a war already begun."

So here we have the ethics of the administration, which says in substance: "You may see in this war a violation of the fundamental principles of the government which endangers its very existence; you may turn with horror from the sickening scenes of slaughter which this war visits upon those who wanted to be our friends, but for your good name you had better advocate war, pestilence and famine than to oppose the president. The low moral and political standard which such appeals reveal as existing, with the editors who make them, is, indeed, alarming. Let the general public sentiment be reduced to the same low level of these editors, and the days of the republic are numbered. I have incidentally mentioned the so-called "Peace Jubilee," held at Atlanta, Ga., and am led to ask if there was ever a greater farce enacted than that played by the advocates of the present war, when they were planning and holding what they termed a peace jubilee, while at the same time planning for and carrying on a war vastly more costly in treasure, and in which the same army that freed the Cubans have been set to destroy ten Filipinos where they had killed one Spaniard. But it served its purpose of keeping the people from being too inquisitive about what was transpiring in the Orient.

A desperate effort is being made to misplace the burden of responsibility for the innocent blood being shed in the Philippines. It is alleged by those who sustain the administration that we who oppose this war are responsible for the death of our brave boys and the slaughtered Filipinos. If this allegation is true, then, were Fox, Pitt and other English statesmen who opposed England's war upon the American colonies responsible for the blood shed in the Revolutionary war. Then were Garrison, Phillips and Gerrit Smith responsible for the blood shed in the war of the rebellion? The responsibility for the cost of this war in treasure, blood and life rests with the president, who, instead of promising the Filipinos what we did the Cubans, has established a military despotism.

Was there ever a greater contrast in purpose, spirit, methods and results than that obtaining between the nation's war with Spain and President McKinley's war of conquest? In the first our volunteer soldiers, inspired by the spirit of liberty, joyfully bore the banner of the republic forward and upward toward the millennial heights of Christian civilization, of which prophets have told and poets sung. In the McKinley war the same soldiers who had fought to make Cuba free, and whose term of service had expired, were ordered by President McKinley to bear the ensign of the republic backward and downward toward the abyss of anarchy and military despotism, of which the historian, Macauley,



prophesied. In doing this our brave boys were compelled to mercilessly shoot down at their own firesides those who had awaited their coming as their deliverers from the same despotism which had desolated Cuba, and who were as truly entitled to sympathy and aid as were the Cubans, Admiral Dewey being a witness.

President McKinley is compelling the men who volunteered to deliver the victims of Spain's oppression, after having rescued 3,000,000, to then turn their death-dealing weapons against 10,000,000 equally wronged and equally deserving sympathy, many of whom had helped in the capture of Manila, committed against them a crime equaled only by the matchless crime he is committing against the Filipinos, who are as sincerely fighting for their liberties as did our fathers when resisting England's invading army in 1776.

What wonder that those who volunteered to deliver the spoiled from the hands of the spoiler should refuse to enlist in such a war! It is well that they are to be given medals because of their intrepid bravery and fortitude. But if the president thinks he has won their approval of his sin by the medals given them, he mistakes the intelligence and temper of the volunteer soldiers of the republic. I am glad they are to have the medals, for they have earned them a thousand times over, but all the gold of the Klondike would not suffice to make a medal large enough to shut out from memory the dark, pitiable scenes of carnage in which they were compelled to play a part. They will ever have reason to be grateful to the governors who demanded of the president their release and return home.

The first war left us united as never before. We were respected by every nation, loved by the friends of freedom in all lands, and feared only by tyrants.

By this second war we are being divided along new and most dangerous lines and stand discredited before the world as violators of our solemn pledge, and as having descended to Spanish methods of reporting the result of our battles.

This war calls into the field of contest the mightiest forces in human nature; the desire for gain, honor, conquest and power on the one hand, and conscientious convictions on the other. I would not be understood as implying that the great body of those who sustain the war are without moral convictions, for thousands of them are doubtless held where they stand by an abiding sense of duty.

But I do say that this war of conquest is a child of perdition, and was begotten of

the spirit of political and military ambition, and conceived in the womb of commercial greed, and that a majority of its most persistent supporters are representatives of the forces I first named, while a majority of those who oppose the war are moved by the highest considerations of fidelity to principle, sympathy for the oppressed, and love of country, and cannot withhold from opposing the war, whatever the personal consequences to them may be.

No words of mine can adequately set forth the measure of evil which this war of conquest has already visited upon us in dividing the people, stirring unholy passions and turning the nation from the ever-brightening path of honor, justice and truth into the ever descending, ever darkening pathway of commercial greed, falsehood, political corruption and military despotism.

The great Teacher said: "He that hateth his brother without cause is a murderer." The representatives of the war will do well to heed the fearful truth which these words proclaim ere they have aroused the passions of the unthinking and violent class into a tempest of murderous fury. Senator Conkling did not realize when saying that Garfield ought not to live, that he was thereby calling the blood-thirsty tiger of assassination from his lair, but subsequent history proved that he was.

Let us hope that the writer of the following words used them hastily, without comprehending their incendiary character, for do they not breathe the spirit of anarchy and murder?

Colonel William Junketing Bryan grandiloquently asks: "If we adopt the gunshot gospel in the Philippines, how long will it be before that principle will be transplanted in American soil?" No, no, William Judas, that is not the real point, but, rather, how much longer do you believe a patient public will forbear that particular gospel on you and your treacherous spawn? Even the cross of gold is preferable to being seduced to treason.

Here we have a threat of personal violence against one of America's most distinguished citizens. A man of irreproachable character and commanding influence, who received the largest vote for president, with one exception, ever given to a candidate for that high office, and many believe without any exception. If this murderous spirit now being fostered by the imperialistic press shall be carried into the approaching presidential campaign, the setting sun of the nineteenth century will go down behind a sea of blood, for the patriotic citizens of America who cherish

the counsel of Washington and reverence the Declaration of Independence, and who believe in righteous civil government will not consent to the carrying out of the imperialistic policy without bearing testimony against it, even as the distinguished statesman above named is doing.

In contrasting the two wars we have been considering events of supreme historic, ethical and political importance.

The purpose and character of the first war, as set forth in the president's proclamation, won for our nation admiration and reverence from the noblest citizens of all lands and wiped out among our own citizens all rival and geographical animosities; and if the president had kept his solemn pledge incorporated in his proclamation of war, we should have been today the most potential, commercial, moral and political power in the world.

On the other hand, the war now in progress, judged by its spirit, methods and results, is not only one of the most unjustifiable wars that ever darkened the pages of history, but it puts in jeopardy the priceless treasures of freedom won by the sacrifices, suffering and martyrdom endured by noble souls of past ages, which treasures a gracious Providence had committed to our nation's keeping. I conclude by repeating what I said in a former communication, that no greater calamity could

befall this nation, or the world, than would result from the American people's acquiescing in this war of conquest. But they will not acquies; the slumbering conscience of the American people will awake; this war of conquest will be stopped and a republic be established in the Orient, and our nation be redeemed from the destruction which conscienceless greed and unholy ambition, now bearing rule, would certainly bring upon it.

STEPHEN H. TAFT.

Since writing the foregoing, the following words of Governor Shaw of Iowa have come to my notice:

"One of my predecessors once said in a public speech: 'If you hear any one utter one syllable against the government of the United States or AGAINST THE PRESIDENT thereof, or against the cause for which our boys are fighting, or do aught in disrespect to the flag that waves over them, SHOOT HIM WHERE HE STANDS. They may arrest you, they may try you, they may convict you, but they shall not hang you. I'm governor of Iowa.' That spirit of patriotism is not dead in Iowa."

The imperialists fail to see any difference between those who sought the overthrow of the Republic in 1861 and those who seek to preserve it in 1899. Such language from one high in authority ought to awaken the people to a consciousness of the dangerous spirit which imperialism fosters.

